The Carolina Spartan.

2) WALTER BOY Thursday, March 7, 1861.

Col. Joson H. Carson.

This gentleman was elected a delegate on the Secession ticket to the State Convention of North Carolina, from the District composed of Rutherford and Po k Counties. Being a wirm and exruest advocate of the doctrine of secesson we cannot refrain from tendering him our hearty cong a ulations and expressing our joy The presentation speech was made by Major at his success. A large number of our citizens assembled at his residence on Saturday night last, accompanied by a band of music, and eal'ed upon him for a speech. The call was sufficient to bring 'im to the vestibule. Appearing, he said that he had just emerged from a hot struggle-that our mourtain friends had betited manfully-were willing to unite with the Southern Confederacy, as they showed by ther votes that they were good and true friends in quiet or turbulent times. Having devoted some time to the cauvass, be felt fa-1 jued and worn down, and would close with an invitation to the crowd to participate in some refreshments, which was accepted and their appreciation of the same soon made mani-

The Inaugural.

We have given all the space we have to-day to Mr Lincoln's Inaugural to the people of the dis-United States. He don't seem to know much about the Confederate States of America. and less of President, Joff. Davis, We hope he will enquire before he sets his government too for in advance of the time, he might learn semething of what is up by an exchange with the Charleston Mercury, or the realing of our paper to day would give some general and special ideas.

No Apology.

We mak no apology for giving the corrected address of the Hon. Jonx S. PRESTON befor. the State Convention of Virginia. We have read it with much care and attention, and we heartily commend it to our readers, as a well prepared statement of the views of South Carolina to her sister State. No man should lay this paper away carlessly, if you have no time to read it to-day, not it where you can lay your hands on it in a maute, and read it at your

Discontinued.

The South Carolina Railroad Company dis continue, after the 11th inst., the receiving and forwarding business. The company still advance on ordinary expenses. This new arrangement grows out of the new tariff act of Congress of the Confederate States of the 18th Pebruary, 1861.

Delegate from Rutherford.

C. C. Durham, Esq., of High Shoals, North Carolina, has been elected a delegate to the State Convention in tha State

WASHINGTON, March 1 -The fight of the Abolitionists over the spoils is becoming des perare. It is understood to night that Chase and Cameron are for peace. Both will go into

Lincoln spoke last night at a screnade. He was very produgal in his blessings, freely promising peace, happiness and equal rights.

The leading Abolitimists are beginning to talk colliny of the Southern Confederacy, and to view-it as a great reality. Nevertheless, a large majority of them are for war Lincoln is evidently backing down since his

Ex Secretary Thomson's expose of Buchanan and Holts the theme general of conversation around the hotels to night. The Treas ry is suffering to day under the grabgame. It be emp y to morrow. There is an immense swarm of Yankee office-

seekers now in the city How Lincoln means to satisfy them all is a problem.

WASHINGTON, March 1 .- The War Depart ment received dispatches from Major Anderson on Thursday, February 28, but the Acting Adjutant at the office has not permitted any of its contents to transpire. Whether notice of resignation is given or not, is therefore still matter for rumor and conjecture. [Special Desputch to Charleston Courier.

The value of dry goods imported into New York, the past year, is \$101.911,900. Commodore Vanderbilt is seriously ill of an af fection of the beart. The County Court of Wythe, Va., has vote !

\$1000 for arming the county. CALCUTEA COTTON .- The Andre coggin Com pany, at Lewision, Maine, have just taken in five hundred bales of cotton, received from Cal-

THE FLAG OF MISSISSIPPL -A fing of white ground, a magnolia tree in the centre, a blue field in the under left hand corner, with a white star in the centre-the flag to be finished with with a red border, and a red fringe at the ex-

tremity. The following, it is believed, will compose Lincoln's Cabinet: Seward, Chase Cameron, Montgomery, Blair, M. D. Smith, Wells and

PERSONAL -- Henry Cleveland, Esq., has resigned his position as editor of the Augusta Constitutionalist. Mr. Cleveland has recently received the appointment of First Lieutenant in the regular army of Georgia.

The Bill to discontinue the mail service in the Confederate States has passed both Houses of the Congress a Washington, and only needs the signature of the President to become a law.

PRINTING WINT COLORS AT ONCE. In the Pacific Mills, Lawrence one of the m chines disprent colors, and shade of colors, in passing through once. There is only one other like

Baron Revor. February 26 .- The bill approprinting one hundred thousand dollars for placing upon complete war tooting Forts St. Philip and Jackson on the Mississippi River, passed the House, to day, unanimously. In the debate, war was believed to be inevita-

The Columbiads ordered by Gov. Brown Col. Pickett, late United States Consul at

Very Craz, has resigned his post. Col. John Cuningham has been appointed by

Governor l'ickens, Quarier-master-General ef the regular military forces of South Caro-

THE LOAN OF THE GOVERNMENT -- We learn that the European and Southern Direct Trading Company of New Orleans has made application to negot ate the sale of eight millions of the bonds of the Confe lerate States of Ame rica. We are glad to see the direct trade in dueacethus coming forward. The New Orleans tion in the Mississippi Valley and rests upon a a Europe. We are conficont that it can aid materially in farnishing the sinews of war .- [Mon gomery Mail, 28th

Flag Presentation.

Saturday was distinguished by the presen ation to the Lawson's Fork Volunteers, of . 's autiful flag from the hand of Miss Hattie Choice, one of the fair daughters of Spartan burg. The flag is of white silk; on one side is the goddess of liberty, resting upon a solid shield, with a dag of blue i lumined by a half moon, pouring its light and to llance upon a small palmetto tree until it became ablazwith its effulgence. On the other side, a large palmetto, green and thourishing, with a snake encircling it. It is edged with gold bullion John H. Evins, and was well received. It was pertinent, well delivered, and well snited to the occasion. He spoke of the political crisis, the great solicitude of the public mind upon the issues now about ripening, and the extra ordinary importance circumstances were give ing to the occasion. Coming from a fair daughter of Carolina, he urged eloquently, the preservation of its honor upon the battle field. The are his remarks:

Such a ceremony would be an interesting one, even in times of protound peace and quiet, but standing in the midst of a revolution which may you climson the green turn of our suchy inner with the blood or its brave sons, it was one of such import and significance as to chal lenge our most serous at ention. We stand to-day overshadowed by two dark and angry el u is, they stand from to front, till winds th sign it blow for joining the dark encounter. It called to muct the thry of this storm with its leaden hall, he trusted we might do it as became sons of the Palmetro. He spoke of he morives which urged to the dissolution of Pharisa cal Union; of the reasons which in pelled us to a repudiation of the deperous sisterhood of our mithless Confederates of the North. They had desecrated the temple of liberty erected by the valor and cementel by the purest blood of patriotism; they had pollu ted the shrine at which our tathers worshiped and leaving them we had built a new temple and formed a new Union-we desired that this new Union should be perpenual, that this new temple consecrated to Liberty and Indepen deace, should be forever unpollured, and re-main impershable; that no political Marius hould ever rest upon its ruins. He refe reto the appropriate motto waich graced the banner "l'alma non sine pulrere," and said that euccess and empire do not come unsought the spoke of the glorious future which awaited us, if we are true to ourselves and the noble imposes which have so gloriously begun the work. Nich stirring words, he urged a patriotic and uncompromising devotion to principle; that if we are to live let us live in the security of law,

if we are to die, let us resolve to die proud consolation of having served to the uttermest the cause of the right, the cause of our Closing with a graceful compliment to the fair denorand a fitting tribute to the fidelity and patriotism of womin, the banner was de livered into the hands of Capt. Seay, with an specasion of the fullest confidence that it

would never be dishonored in his keeping. Concluding by placing it in the hands of Capt Rial B. Seny, who responded in appropriate language. The Captain pledged himself and his fine looking corps never to suffer it to trail. whether in peace or on tented field. We give below the substance of his remarks :

"Ma. Evins: The beautiful flag presented to day to the Lawson Fork Volunteers is received with emo ions of inexpress ble gratitude Coming from fair hands the product of her own workmanship, we feel proudly interested with its value and the high destiny you desire to impart to it. Be assured, as Captain of a cor s, composed as I regard them, and as I am sure they will prove themselves in martial plains whenever the occasion presents itselfof strong nerves and stout hearts, worthy of the glittering steel of any foe, this flag - emble matic as it is, of the faith of Carolina's daugh ers-shall never trail, or its beauties be blemished by the sullied acts of the corps to which you to day intrusted it. Living as we do, within sight of the battle field of Cowpens, w. would teel dishono ed in robbing our District of its historic glory, if in any event, or under ields and leave it unsupported to its death field of battle.

Our gallant President has spoken his unwa vering sentiments as to the result, should coercion be practiced, to defend your flag against the enemy, whether he be a Black Republican or a hired soldier of the United States.

South Carolina has been in advance of the States in declaring her independent and and separate sovereignty; and as far as we are concerned, I pledge the honor and soldierly virtue of each man compasing my Company, to return this flag unsuitled by acts, or find within its sitken folds a winding sheet." For each of us I now submit this.

In conclusion Captain Seay placed the flag in the hands of Sergeant Morgan, and called upon Col. T. O. P. Vernon, who responded in a chaste and appropriate style. We cannot attempt a synopsis of its merits, or speak in suitable terms of its beauties. It was delivered with eloquent power and effect.

WASH NOTON, March 2 .- Large numbers of tion. Dudley A. Mann leaves for Montgom

ery and New Orleans this morning. The Selvetary of War issue a general or der this morning, dropping General Twiggs from the rolls of the Army for treachery. Over a thousand Northerners and Westerners are pouring in every day, and the city is

It is stated in the Cincinnati Commercial, that the assassination letter dated from Georgia, was the result of a to x played on a suspec ted Abeliaionists here.
Accusta. March 2.—Dispatches received ni

this city from Texas, state that Captain Hid has refused the demand of the Texas Commisso ers to surren ier Fort Brown or any of the public property lie ans sent to Ringgold Barracks for remiorcements to project the public proper y on Brazos Island. A collision is

Ine Counties heard from are almost unani mens for secession.

M NTGON BY, March 2 -Congress admitted the Texas delegates with full privileges as members, to-day. There was a short session this morning, about a reduction of tariff. Con gress was in secret bession several hours, and again in secret session to night.

RALEGOR. March 2 .- Tourty-seven Counties have been heard from. Twenty are four com promise, thirteen for secession, and three divided. The State will probably go against Convention by a small majority.

THE CABINET .- Major Miller, of the Millengeville to order, an old political editor, and a shrewd observer, speaks in high terms of

President Davis' Cabinet appointments. Of vr. Teembs he says:
"So far as intellect may justify the parallel, we have no hesitancy in saying that Mr. Toombs will grace the State Department at Montgomery with a nearer appro ch to Websier than any statesman that could have been selected. In power of analysis and cogency of reasoning, they were not unlike-though we do not pretend to claim for Mr. Toombs a rank equal to that of Mr. Webster, but only a resemblance, which is no small cred Company embraces an extensive organiza- it. It is not impossible, however, that events may arise to give the Southern Secretary fame in diplomatic discussion not inferior to that waigh Mr. Webster acquired in his letter to Chevaller Hul emann, of the Austrian EmFor the Carolina Spartan

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE, Feb. 18, 1861. MR EDITOR: Although I am now in this ity, amid snow and ice, but a few days since was in Charleston, with mild and genial weaher, and vegetation springing forth with rapidity. I of course put up at the Charleston. Of course every one knows what it is to put up at that hotel, where you can get every thing ou want, from a brandy smash to a canyassback duck, with overers and shrimps thrown in see every body you wish to see and not move out of your tracks. But oh! that abominable long bill! It is awful to think of! I wonder people don't qui: travelling-the hotel bit s are

Well, feathers and gold are evidently in the scendant, and civilians must stand aside for the military. If I was a young man I believe I should join the military, if it was only to atract the attention of the ladies, God bless them, for gold buttons and epaulets have great attraction for them. It is astonishing how beng dressed up in a little brief authority elevates some of our juveniles. Why, give some of them a sword, and stick a teather in their cap, they will strut about the city and scarcely condescend to recognize their own daddy. Age. however, brings wisdom, and if they live long enough they will get over this pe ty vanity. After enquiring from all I met, of the pros pects of the future, from the General in con mand, down to the private, I was astonished how little information I obtained, and come to the conclusion that we in Spartanburg were about as well booked up on the subject as they are in Charleston. There are three thing . I am satisfied about. First, we are to have war as soon as Lincoln can inaugurate the proecedings Secondly the volunteer forces will not be called from the up country to take Fort Somier, for they have more than enough for that purpose already there.

I went down to the wharf to see the battery low being erected. It is about 100 feet by 60. with four port holes, at which heavy cannon are to be placed They are now putting in palmetto logs lengthwise and crosswise, to proteet the men from the balls of the fort. Punderstand about 20 feet thickness of these logs. they being soft dan spongy, it is supposed it will be impossible to do any harm with the heaviest cannon balls. They expect to take which the case is su-cebtible; that the prothe battery within a half mile of the fort and erty peace and security of no see ion are t then sink it to the bottom (the water being very shallow, from four to six feet deep) then comnence to play upon the walls until they make an opening, when they will, by a vigorous and combined attack, easily take the place without

In passing from Charleston to this point, 1 come through Atlanta, where I had the pleas are of seeing Jeff Davis and hearing him speak. Of course, b ing the first President of our glorious little Southern Confederacy, I felt a great nterest in what he said. He is rather under medium height space made, with rather a grave but pleasant countenance, has an eye that ous to tamper with. The weather was very unfavorable, but yet there was a large turn out of military, fire companies and citizens gener- su h service or labor may be due. ally, to see and hear our great man for the first me. He said "that he was proud of the honor of being selected as first President of the Southern Confederacy, but felt diffident in assuming the responsibilities incident to the staion. Not from fear of the consequences, for whatever they might be, he was willing to risk his life, his foreque and his sacred honor for the liberty of his country, but from want of qualifications for the office." He pictured a happy future for the South, did not dread war or its consequences. With our product of three hundred millions of dollars by our great staples. come, that it would not be confined to our own the assistance and counsel of his fellow-citizens. and felt confident, from the manifestations of the day, he would have the assistance of his Georgia friends in this emergency. Amidst sal prepared for the occasion.

the outer world - cold and calculating. I sear them, held to be unconstitutional this has entered largely into the late election. It is seventy two years since the for the Convention. Tennesseeans are essenti inaugration of a President under our Naally a trading people-the Yankees of the South tions. Constitution. During that period. And although they are a high minded people, fifteen different and greatly distinguished and upon proper reflection, will give up the citizens have in succession administered flesh pots of Egypt," yet they he situte to take the Executive branch of the Government the final step, from a dollar and cent view of They have conducted it through many the case. It is said that office holders are afraid perils, and generally with great success to venture on secession, for fear that it may Yet, with all this scope for precedent, I fail to carry before the people, although secret- now enter upon the same task for the brief ly in favor of it themselves, and therefore all of Constitutional term of four years, under them try to see which can condemn it in the great and pe u iar difficulties. A disrupstrongest terms I do hope Tennessee will soon re-consider the matter, and join us in the aced, is now formidably attempted. I hold struggle for our rights - no in the union of the North but in the union of the South. If war perpetual Purpetuity is implied, if not part. She cannot remain neutral. She must either join the North in an attempt to subdue that no Government proper ever had a best friends, who have a common interest and minution. Continue to execute all the destiny with her, or go with the South in the express provisions of our national Consti noble and generous struggle for freedom and tution and the Union will endure forever equal rights. There is no doubt the my mind it being impossible to destroy it except by how she and all the border States will go even- some action not provided for in the tually. So soon as they see that no compro- ment itself. Again, if the United States mise or concession can induce the secceded be not a Government proper, but an asso States to return, the question takes unother ciation of States in the nature of contract shape, and all they have to do is to consider merely, can it, as a contract, be particularly whether they will be the tailend of a Northern | unomale by less than all he parties who Government, subject to be ruled and rained by made it? One party to a contract may a people who are unjust and tanacical, having violate it break it, so to speak, but does it no power to resist, or come in as equals in our not require all to lawfully rescind it? glorious Southern Confederacy, with a people Descending from these general principles, who have common interests and a common destiny, and who need their assistance in the war plication, the Union is perpetual, confirmthrow of their shackles, declare their indepenence, and then join us heart and hand, and

It is wonderful what an amount of produce is | It was further matured, and the faith of now raised in this country. There are now seven hundred and fifty car loads of corn. wheat, oats, hay, flour and bacon waiting trans-portation at this place. It will take about a month to get off what is already here, and yet finally in 1787, one of the declared objects the South wants it all. Does not this show what advantage this section is to us, and we to

I hope you will be enabled to hold back the boys till come home, as I want to see the commencement of the fight. If you do pitch in, make use of my rifls in the skirmish. I will ay no more at pres at, for tear that you may charge me with talking too much.

LINCOLN'S MESSAGE.

We are indebted to the enterprising propristors of the Carolinian for a telegraphic report of President Lincoln's Inaugural. We cut up his address to suit ourselves and the revolutionary, according to circumstances. space we have to spare in to-day's paper. He appeared, according to custom, to make a short addr ss, and take the oath prescribed by the Co stitution. It was not considered necessary to discuss matters of his administration as there was no special anxiety or excitement He has some little to say about the apprehension at the South - Republican Administration. our peace, personal security &c.; and says that we have no reasonable cause for such apprehensions. A little further on, he puts in an old Chicago resolution, and from that proceeds to talk to the South like nothing had happened while Buchanan was President, but a little ir ritation; a passionate out-break of a few leading spires who had gone estray during the flickering days of the late Administration. A few days' experience will show him a sli ling plank in the Chicago platform, which may pree pitate an issue not easily accounted for in the Inaugural. He goes on:
"Resolved, That the maintenance, invoi-

late, of the rights of the States, especially the right of each State, to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment, exclusively, is essent al to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political abric depend and we denounce the lawle is avasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes'

I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of bein any wise endangered by the incoming Alministration. I add to that all the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States, when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as ebeerfully to one section as to another.

There is much controversy about the lelivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions:

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping the national troubles, and the vestoration into another, shall, in consequence of any of fraternal sympathics and affections. would indicate some humor, but rather danger- law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be de

livered up on claim of the party to whom It is scarcely questioned that this vision was intended, by those who made in for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves, and the intention of the law given, is the law All members of Congresswear their support to the whole Consti tution, to this provision, as much as any or er. To the proposition then, that slaves who cases come within terms of this clause, shall be delivered up, their out s are un-ni mons. Now, if they make the effort in good temper, could they not with nearly equal maximity frame and pass a law by we could buy Yankee ships enough in one year mous outh? There is a difference of opinion to capture Boston. He gave a hint, if war must whether this clause should be enforced by and make the North feel the effects of it at their if the slave is to be surrendered, it can be own firesides, that we had taken hold of the of but little consequence to him or to of ers plough and must not look back, that our eyes by which authority it is done; and should must be on the future and our heel on the past, any one in any case be content that his and press forward with vigour and energy, we outh shall go unkept on a mearly unsubstanwould overcome all opposition; that the invi- tall con roversy as to how it shall be kept? ting fields of Mexico and South America were Again, in any law upon this subject, ought to be ours in the future, and that our territory, not all the safeguards of liberty known in wealth and power would far surpass in the fu-civilized and humane jurisprudence to be ture all the splenders of our past in connection introduce I, so that a free man be not in with the United states Government. He would any case surrendered as a slave, and might give his best energies of heart, body and mind it not be well, at the same time, to provide o the work set before him, aye, his life if nec- by law for the enforcement of that clause essary. That was all be could do. He wanted in the Constitution which guarantees that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

I take the official oath to-day with no menvos of Artillery and cheers from the crowd of tal reservations, and with no purpose to speciators, he departed on the Montgomer, construe the Constitution or laws by rain about 8 o'clock, A. M., in a special car not choose now to specify particular acts I left Atlanta for this point about the same suggest that it will be much safer for all, the ac Gov rament employees Southern Sentime; I arrived this morning. Everything both in official and private stations, to abo t here looks cold, blank and dreary; snow conform to and abide by all those acts which covers the ground, and yet it continues to fall, s and un epealed, than to violate any of and the face of man somewhat corresponds with them, trusting to find impunity in having

tion of the Federal Union, heretofore me that in contemplation of universal law and expressed, in the fundamental law of nawe find this propostion, that in legal comit was formed in fact by the articles of asdeace in 1776

all these thirteen States expressly pledged and engaged that it should be perpetual. The articles of Confederation in 1778, and for ordaining and establishing the Constitution was to form a more perfect Union. But if destruction of the Union by one or by a part only of the States be lawfully possible, the Union is less perfect than before -the Constitution having lost the vital elcan lawfully go out of the Union, that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void, and that sets of violence within

would therefore, consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my abilty. I shall take care as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully ex-cuted in all the States. Doing this, I deem to oc only a simple duty on my part, and I shall perform, it so far as practicable unless my rightful misters, the American people, shall withhold the requisite means o ; in some authorized manner, direct the contrary. I trust this will not be regarded as a menace, but as the declared purpose of the Union, that it will constitutionally defend and maintrin itself. In doing this there need be no blood shed or violence, and there shall be none, unles it be forced upon the national authority The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and collect the duties and impost, but byyoud what may be necessary for these obiects, there will be no invasion, no using of loree against or among the people anywhere. Where hostility to the United States in any interior locality shall be so great and unusual as to prevent competent resident citizens from holding the Federal offices, there will be no attempt to force obnoxious strangers among the people for that object. While the strict legal right may exist in the Government to enforce exercise of these offices, the attempt to do so would be so irrational, and so nearly impracticable withal, that I deem it better to forego for the time the uses of such offices. The mails, unless repelled. will continue to be furnished in all parts of the Union. So far as possible, the people, everywhere, shall have that sense of perfeet security which is most favorable to cool thought and reflection. The course here indicated will be followed, noless current events and experience shall show a modification or change to be proper; and in every cas an l'exigency, my best diserction will be exercised according to circounstances actually existing, and with a view and a hope of a peaceful solution of

That there are persons in one section or another who so k to destroy the Union at all events, and are glad of any presext to do it, I will nexther affirm or deny, but if there be such, I need address no word to them. To those, however, who really lo e the Union, may I not speak before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of one national fabric, with all its benetits, its memories, its hopes? Would it not be wise to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any rtion of the ills you ily from have no real exis ence? Will you, while the certain ils you fly to are greater than all the real ones you fly from will you risk the commission of so fearful a mistake? All profess to be content in the Union, if all constitutional rights can be maint in 1 Is in the Constitution, has been denied? I think not. Happity, the human mind is so constituted, that no power can reach to such a right were a vital one. But such is not our case. All the vital rights of ontroversies never arise jeon corning them. But no organic law can never be framed with a provision specifically applicable to every question which may occur in practi cal administration. No foresight can antieipate, nor any document of resonable length contain express provisions for all possible questions.

Shall fugitives from labor be surrenderd by national or by State authority? The onstitution does not expressly say. May longress prohibit slavery in the Territories! The Constitution does not expressly say. Must Congress protect slavery in the Territories? The Constitution does not expressly say. From questions of this class spring all our constitutional controversies, because it is dangerous to their happiness, liband we divide upon them into majorities erry and safety. and minorities. If the minority will not requiesce, the majority must, or the Govment must cease. There is no other dternative for continuing the Government than acquiescence on one side or the other. If a minority in such case will secole rathr than acquiesce, they in ke a precedent, which in turn will divide and ruin them; for a minority of their own will secode from them whenever a majority refuses to be controled by such minority. For instance, why may not any portion of a new Confederacy, a year or two hence, arbitrarily secode again, precisely as portions of bottom of the Chesapeake, and sent Virginia to ask themselves—is existence worth a strugthe present Union now claim to secode from it? All who cherish disunion sentiments, are now being educated to the exact temper of d ing this.

Is there such perfect identity of interests among the States to compose a new Union to produce harmony only, and prevent renewed Secession? Plainly the dea of secession is the essence of anarchy. A majori y held in restraint by constigtional checks and limitations, and slways changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Who ever rejects it, does of necessity, fly to anarchy or despotism. Unanimity is impossible. The ruler of a minority, as a permoment arrangement whooly inadmissible; so about to be waged against them. They will ed by the history of the Union itself. The that rejecting the majority principle, an-Union is much older than the Constitution; archy or despotism in some form, is all that is felt, I do not, forget the position sociation in 1774. It was matured and assumed by some, th t constitutional queslink their destiny with a people whom they contin ed by the Declaration of Indepentions are to be decided by the supreme

ADDRESS HON JOHN S. PRESTON | people of these latitudes to the arts of craft and traffic. And while, therefore,

CONVENTION OF VIRGINIA, FEBRUARY 19, 1861. MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I have the honor to present to you my credentials as Commissioner from the Government of South (arolina to the Convention of the people of Virginia. On these cre dentials being duly received by you. I am in structed by my Government to lay before you the causes which induced the State of South Carolina to withdraw from the United States, ement of perpetuity. It follows from these and resume the cowers heretofore delegated by views that no State, upon its mere motion her to the Federal Government of the United

States of America.
In performing this duty, I desire to announce o you that it is no part of my purpose, nor is the wish of my Government, that I should any State or States against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or sumed that right in her sowerign capacity, and my ministry here is to recite the causes which she has deemed sufficient to enforce upon her the necessity of exercising that right.

It will be sufficient for me to recall to your consideration a few historical facts, bearing upon the relations of the states composing the late American Confederation. It will be rewere united in the Crown of Great Britain, and when that union was dissolved, each Colony was remitted to its own ministry, as completely as if they we e in different regions of t Being adjacent, and having identical geievances, they met and consulted at different mes and places, in various forms of conven tion, but generally in Congress, as of acknowl edged independent powers. They b gan th war with the mother country-each Colony for tself and the battles of Lexington and Bunk in South Carolina, and the burning of Norfolk, in Virginia, preceded the declaration of the 4th of July, 1776. The Colonies then in Congress, on that day, declared themselves free and independent States, and proceeded to act as such in forming alliances with each other for their common detence against the power from which they had absolved themselves. They also instantly, and severally, began to form independent civil When these were completed as organizations. meiently as circumstances would allow, and dent powers, they formed a compact, in which this sovereignty and independence was expressly declared. As you may remember, genlemen -for I am now reciting what is present to your memory, with a view to bring it to your fin ing that, individually, they could not carry on this contest for independence and sovereignty, they united in certain articles, which are known as the Articles of Confederation. In these articles there is the remeration of the original declaration of the sovereignty and intependence of the parties to it. powers, all jurishetton, therein delegated, promee no immutation upon the ultima e and diserstronary amereign y of the parties. In the subsequent tredy with Great Britain, that Government recognized the agency of the Contest eration, but acknowledged the States-several y, by name-as sovereign and independent Four years later, the sovereign parties became dissatished with this league, on account of allege t inefficiency in regard to interests which were common and identical. The States efficiency of the Articles of tivi ually. In this i

virtually resumed their original status of segre gitton, and the remedies proposed for the in suited in the new compact, under the name of the Constitution of the United States, and the amendments thereto proposed by the States in word or parase capable of being construed in a lapse or prescription of the sovereign y and in lepen lence of the contracting powers the contrary, there is an express, pervading and emphasic reservation of all powers not ex-pressly granted. The whole spirit and genius the States and its own mere agency in the exercise of deputed and limited functions. The ates -separately, individually, independently with various reservations, and at different riods of time, consented to this compact Nothing legitimate has since occurred to change heir relations to each other unser this comand juxta contemporaneous construction, essecially that of Virginia, by Mr. Madison, characterized by your distinguished President, e.e. in its sovereign capacity. *

The States, then being the parties to the concan, of a single instance, in which a plainly of no tribunal above their authority to decide, written pravision of the Constitution has ever been denied? If by the mere force by them be violated, and consequently, as parof numbers a majority should deprive a last resort, such questions as may be of suffic ties to it, they must themselves dec de, in the minor to of any clearly written constitut on- ie at magnitude to require their interposition. al right, it might, in a moral p int of view. By questions of "sufficient magnitude," the in just fy a revolution. It certainly would, if terpreter means those questions which involve the prerogative of the sovereignty itself, and those of se terp sition, and such a are of themselves danminorities are so plainly assured to them ger us to the grew purposes for which the conby affirmations and negations, guarantees and prohibitions, in the Constitution, that great purposes we know there is expressed those of justice, right, equality, general welfare, and the blessings of liberty to us and our

On this relation of the States to each other and to the Confederation formed by them, the people of South Carolina, then assume that their sovereignty has never been divided, that it has never been alienated, and that it is imprescriptable, that it has been impaired by the tact, that they have voluntarily retrained from the exercise of certain specified functions, and that it may be exercised at their will through their own established forms. They, therefore contend, that in the exercise of their unrestricted sovereignty, and on the great principle of the right of a sovereign S ate to govern itself even if it involves the destruction of a compact which has he enviriated so as to become an imminent danger, they have the right to abrogate that compact, so far as concerns the selves,

Having ventured to present these facts and principles to your consideration, I will proceed state the more prominent and immediate causes which induce South Carolina to abrogate her consent to the Constitution of the United States

As preliminary to this statement, I would As preliminary to this statement, I would against which that appears that, as early as the year 1820, the manifest the vital interests of eight millions of people, bound to them by contiguity of territory and restrict the territorial expansion of the slave. the closest political relation, holding States That is very evident in all the the decree inaugurated on the 6th Nov., was contests of that period; and had they been the aunihilation of the people of the Southsuccessful to the extent that some hoped, even ern States. Now, gentlemen, the people of then, the line that out off the purchase from France might have projected Eastward to the come within the ban of this decree, had only and haif of Tennessee and all of Kentucky, Virginia proper, after she had given to nonslavery her North-western empire, to the nonslavery section. That might be the line. The policy, however, has been pushed so far as to deprive this Southern section of that fine of at least seven tenths of the acquistions of the ask them if, in all the love of human society, Government. Besides this, I would state, as preliminary, that a large portion of the revenue of the Government of the United States has always been drawn from duties on imports. Now, the products that have been necessary to of people, with a powerfully organized Governpurchase these imports, were at one time exusively and have always mainly been, the result of slave labor, and therefore, the barden I ask you, Virginians, is right, is justice, is of the revenue daties upon imports purchased by these exports must fall upon the pro ucer. who happens also to be the consumer of the

In addition to this, it may be stated that at a very early period of the existence of this Goverament, the Northern people, from a variety causes, entered upon the industries of have arisen from a variety of curses among them gain the control of the Federal Government, perhaps, an uncongenial climate, a barren soil, hirst to restrict, then to subsidize, and now to but a sea-coast adapted to commerce, besides an inherent tendency upon the part of the becked at baffled in one course, with the reliable to the coast adapted to commerce.

important that all the sources of the revenue should be kept up to meet the increasing ex-penses of the Government, it also manifestly became of great importance that these articles of manufacture in which they have been engaged should be subject to the purchase of their confederates. They, therefore invented a system of daties partial and discriminating, by which the whole burden of the revenue fell upon those who produced the articles of expert which purchased the articles of import, and which purchased the arricles of impart, and which arricles of import were consumed mainly, or to a great extent, by those who produced the exports. The State of Carolina being at the time one of the largest exporters and consumes of imports, was so opposed by the operations of this system upon her, that she was driven to the necessity of interposing her soveraignesservation to arrest it, so far as she was concerned. This interposition, together with the rapid spread of the principle of free trade all over the the world, did arrest the iniquity in the shape in which it was then presented. It shape in which it was then presented. It could no longer be the avowed policy, of the Government to (ax one section for the purpose of building up another. But so successful had been the system; to such an extent had it alhad been its accomplations of capital; so vast Pricain, save by contiguity of territory, had no had it been disfused throughout its ramificanearer community of Government than they tions, as seemly to interweave the industries of the sections almost into the life of each other. As mechanics, manufactures, ship-pers, merchants, bankers and in all the intermediary pursuits, the Northern people seemed to have become almost necessary to the maintainance of the industry of the South. these relations they had crept into every crevice of an affluent and loose economy, and made themselves so convenient to it, that we began to think them vital to it; and they grew so great and waxed so strong, as they fed and fattened on this sweating giant of the South, that, with the insolence natural to sudden and bloated power, they began to claim that the laboring monster was created for their tribu-tary. They have drawn from us subsides watch might have glutted the avarice of a Roman Proconsul, which, in one-quarter of a century have builded up powerful cities, rivaling in wealth the richest marts of the Old World, and burdening every sea with their commerce, and which have covered their granite soil with palaces and smiling gardens. and yet, strange, anomolous as it may appear, maintested by their separate contributions to it is nevertine ess literally true, that while the common cause, as sovere ga and independ they were thus gather ag all their wealth and power from this source, step by step, latus cum latere with this aggregation there was going up a determined purpose to destroy these sources of their power and grandure. I pretend not to explain it; I relate it as history, consideration, trusting as I may recite it, you This, gentlemen, brings me to the proximate may discover what has certainly been running causes which it is my mission to lay before through the minds of my people for years past—you. For nearly thirty years, the people of the nonslaveholdin. States have assailed the institu-tion of Arrican slavery in every form in which our political connections with them permitted hem to approach it. During all the large masses of their people with a persiste t fury, maddened by the intextention of the widest fan ticism, have associated with the avowed purpose of effecting the abolition of slavery by the most fearful means which can be suggested to a subject race; arson and surder are the charities of their program

1. The Representatives of these people in the Federal Legislature, acting on the same u timate idea, have endeavored to shape the legislation of the Government so as to deprive the slave States of political equality, by exat accretions of the Government. They have succeeded to the full extent, and have decreed that there -hall be no more slave States admit-ted to the Union.

2. A majority of the non slaveholding States have not only refused to carry out the pro-visions of the Constitution and laws to protect slive property, but have made stringent laws to prevent the execution of those provisions. Eight of those States have made it a criminal one are to execute the plainest provisions of the Constitution, which give protection to a prop-erry turnishing, \$250,000,000 annually to the mercrofthe country, on which res s the dalire order of civilization of tweive milhons of people. In not one of the seventeen non-slaveholding States can a citizen of a siave State claim protection for his main properry; and the p rson of the citizen in numercases has been violated, and in many of hese cases the violence has resulted

3. The citizens of not less than five ron slave holding States have invaded a slaveholding State, and proclaimed annihilation of its per that the Constitution of the United States was formed by the sanction of the States, given by gaged in this evasion, and one of these States -hat State which claims the most advanced civilization and refinement the audacity of doing this. Think, if you pacty, it follows, of necessity, that there can an American present before the world American sentiment cree, tarough its highest constituted authoray, has approved of his invasion; and large bodies of pe ple throughout the whole of the non slave-nolling States have made votive offerings to the memory of John Brown and his associates.

4. The most populous, and by farthe most potent of the 'onfedera'es, has proclaimes for years through its representatives in the Federal Senare that it is the condict of life and earth between afficient magnitude to require its in-a, and such a are of themselves dancontaining near three millions of people who conduct four-fiths of the commerce of the Republic. Additional mittions of people, making majorities in all the States, and majorities in all the States, and many of the States by legislative action, have declared that institution of slavery, as it exists in the Southern Sta e , is an offence to Ge , ad therefore they are bound, by the most sacred duty of a man to exterminate that institution. They have declared and acred upon the declaration hat the existence of shavery in the Southern States is an offence and a danger to the social nstitutions of the Northern States, and therefore they are bound, by the instinct of moral right and of self-preservations to exterminate avery.

Finally impelled by these sacred duties to God and their conscience, and by the scarcely less binding impulses of self protection-after years of earnest labor and devotion to the purs s-they have succeded, by large majorit es in a the non-slaveholding States, in placing the entire Executive power of the Federal Government in the hands of those who are pledged, by their obligations to God-by their figations to the social institutions of man-by there obligations of self preservation-to place the institution of slavery in a course of certain and fi ...l extinction. That is, twenty millions of people, holding one of the strongest Governments on earth, are impelled by a perfect re-cognition of the most sacred and powerful obbound to them by contiguity of territory South Carolina, being a portion of the gle? Their answer is given in the ordinance I have had the honor to submit to you.

I see before me wise and learned men, who have observed and sounded the ways of human life in all its ecords, and many who have been chief actors in some of its greatest scenes. I they find a case parallel to this? South Carolina has 300,000 whites, and 400,000 slaves. The whites depend on their slaves for their order of civilization and their existence. 20,000,000 ment, and impelled by the most sacred duties, decree that this slavery must be exterminated existence worth a struggle!

I have thus recited, in general terms, the eauses which dictated the action of the peop e of South Carolina Were they given in detail, they would embrace half the history of the Republic, for half the period of its existence, From the accession of the younger Adams to this hour, them un internal olicy of the United manufacture and commerce, but of agriculture States has been one unturing, untaltering effort scarcely to the extent of self support. This may on the part of the non siaveholding States, to